

# Hermes

BY THE STUDENTS OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY IN MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

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## Student Power: Thinking Macro —

by Jim Cohen

Every movement needs theory to survive. This is axiomatic. Whether we're talking about student power, farm-worker power, or grandmother power, no movement can advance very far without carefully taking stock of the means it has at its disposal to accomplish its goals, which are presumed to be clearly defined.

The issue at hand is student power. Here at Wesleyan, after months of discussion and the exchange of a multiplicity of documents, from budget schemes to raging manifestoes and personal recriminations, no theory has emerged to explain why Wesleyan is in crisis and how (if at all) student action can lead us out of it.

This absence of theory deserves examination. Why has there been such a remarkable absence of theoretical reflection within a student body so intelligent? This is, after all, an intelligent community. Where else could so many people become experts, practically by osmosis, in the microeconomics of private education? By dint of studying proposal after proposal, or at least glancing at these proposals before tossing them in the wastebasket, most of us have been led to do a great deal of thinking about the future of the institution. But microeconomics is equipped to answer only certain kinds of questions, those dealing with priorities, given a fixed amount of resources. What students (and everyone else) have ignored is the question of how Wesleyan's plight fits into the context of the current crisis in American education. How do we characterize the present squeeze? Let's think macro — and let's think a bit historically.

First, let's consider the reason for existence of Wesleyan and the handful of schools of similar standing. Many people if asked, will tell you that the purpose of these institutions is "to provide an atmosphere of mature and responsible intellectual development for our youth," or something of the sort. This may be nice to hear, and even substantially true, but it begs the question: why bother to educate intellectuals? What

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## Near-Miss Shows Nuke Dangers

by Paul Gionfriddo

Shortly after noon this past March 22, electricians attempting to seal air leaks in a nuclear power plant in Browns Ferry, Alabama accidentally set fire to the plant. The fire could not at once be brought under control, a reactor meltdown threatened, and a nuclear disaster was barely averted. The reactor was successfully shut down only after sixteen hours of effort.

The particular experience, the most recent in a series of serious near-misses with nuclear reactor disaster, has served also to point out several continuing deficiencies in our nuclear power program.

The electricians were sealing the leaks with a spongy foam rubber, and then using candles to check for air currents. According to one of the electricians, "I thought that everybody knew that the material we were using to seal our leaks in penetrations would burn .... I never did like it."

Everyone did know it. According to a shift engineer, "We discussed among the group the procedure of using lighted candles to check for air

leaks. Our conclusion was that the procedure should be stopped." That conversation had occurred two days before the fire.

A flame ignited the foam rubber and spread quickly throughout the reactor. According to a plant operator, "At about 1:15 I lost my nuclear instrumentation. I only had control of four relief valves .... At about 1:30, I knew that the reactor water level could not be maintained, and I was concerned about uncovering the core." That would have started the meltdown, and, because of the fire having reached wiring, none of the pumps were working, so a temporary make-shift pump had to be used.

The plant soon lost its computer, making its control panels inoperable, and then lost its ability to phone outside from within the plant itself. Carbon dioxide was used on the fire, but it did not extinguish it. Smoke became dense, hampering shutdown efforts. Firefighting efforts were carried out by plant employees, in spite of the presence of firemen, who suggested dousing the fire

with water.

The water finally was used, and put the fire out at around 6:30, but use of the four relief valves in the plant had been lost at 6, and pressure continued to build in the plant, and it wasn't until after ten that night that the relief valves could be brought into operation and depressurize the reactor to the point where water could again be pumped in. At no time during the emergency were local officials made aware of the danger.

Nuclear power plants are not to be toyed with, nor should they be accepted blindly. The people in charge of our nuclear program have

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## May mayor may miss in Middletown

by Paul Gionfriddo

This year, Middletown voters have three candidates from whom to choose their mayor. They are Tony Marino, a Democrat, who also was the Democratic candidate two years ago, Seb Garafalo, a Republican, who is an incumbent City Council member, and Lester Gowin, the incumbent mayor, who is running as an independent, having sought and discovered little Republican support for his candidacy.

Lester Gowin became mayor in May, when former mayor Anthony Sbona resigned his office after appointing himself City Clerk. Since Sbona is a Republican, the city charter dictated that his appointed successor also be a Republican. The Republican party in town suggested Seb Garafalo as his replacement, but the City Council, which makes the appointment, was controlled by Democrats, who promptly rejected the Republican suggestion. They opened up the process to all interested Republicans in town, and finally chose, from four candidates, Gowin to the position.

At this time, a heated argument between the Republican and Democratic town committees arose, with Democrats asserting that the Republicans were attempting to give Garafalo an unfair campaign advantage for the fall elections by making him an incumbent, and Republicans countering that the Democrats were picking a less-qualified candidate, so that either they could control him, or he would be a terrible mayor. The Democrats, in a party-line vote, elected Gowin anyway, in a decision which was generally unpopular at the time.

Gowin's involvement in town affairs in recent years

had been minimal until his appointment. He's 69 years old, and had retired from politics six years ago, after completing some time as a City Councilman.

Gowin's major activity since his accession to the mayor's chair has been to question the legality of payments made by former Mayor Sbona to former City Attorney Robert Gordon, who was fired when Gowin took office. Gordon especially has called Gowin's efforts politically motivated, since Republicans opposed his succession. Gordon as such has refused to turn over any of his files to the city until after the election, and generally does not acknowledge the possibility of Gowin's winning.

Gowin's decision to run as an independent this year was a surprise to many. Republicans have generally expressed the opinion that the Democrats have put him up to it, to split the republican vote (Democrats already hold a 2-1 registration lead in the city, with as many independents as there are Democrats), and guarantee a Marino win. Democrats have been concerned that his decision to run came only after he was convinced he could win over disenchanted Democrats, bitter over the outcome of the party's preferential poll and primary. Gowin has simply said he believes he has support among Democrats, independents, and Republicans alike, as a non-party product.

Republicans most bitterly attack Gowin, claiming his disenchantment with them has its foundation in their repeal of his efforts to become a Republican party boss in 1969, when he was serving as town chairman.

This is the second time Gowin has been in this position. Nearly twenty-five years ago, when Mayor Cubeta resigned the office to become Tax Collector, Gowin was appointed interim mayor, and then denied the Republican party nomination. He consequently ran as an independent that time, and polled a significant number of votes, enabling a Democrat to be elected mayor. He subsequently made his peace with the Republican party, and moved to assert control over it in the 1960s, until he was checked by Sbona's supporters in 1969.

Tony Marino is generally regarded as the most liberal of the three candidates, although this past summer he ran as a middle-of-the-road to conservative candidate in the Democratic party's first-ever preferential poll. This past spring, the Democratic party's mayoral nomination was

narrowing to a contest between two liberals, incumbent Councilwoman Betty Matteo and educator Vincent Loffredo, both in their early thirties. Marino was considering a run at that time, but hadn't made up his mind until almost summertime. The town committee usually nominates the candidates in Middletown, but by the time summer came, the Committee divisions were so pronounced as to be unbreakable, so town chairman Lawrence Cacciola scheduled a preference poll, to be conducted almost as a primary, to allow all Democrats a vote to determine their candidate.

Throughout the summer, Marino emerged as more and more the choice of party insiders. Matteo and Loffredo went out after the liberal vote, with both making an appeal to regular Democrats by researching and developing plans and positions on redevelopment issues. Marino, on the other hand, chose not to issue any position papers or statements, asserting his willingness to stand on his record as a community leader and declaring his feeling that the party platform, developed after the primary, should guide the stand of any mayoral candidate. His push was to run as a team player, as leader of the team, but only after the preferential poll was concluded. He went into the poll as the favorite, with his leading competitor expected to be Matteo. But when the votes were counted, he emerged as a surprisingly slim winner over Loffredo, 1400 votes to 1300, with Matteo, whose support had dissipated by this time, bringing up the rear with 550 votes.

Consequently, the Democratic problem became one of mending fences. Worried about the closeness of the vote, and "outsider" Loffredo's unexpected strength, the party moved immediately to include in-put from all Democratic factions in the party platform.

The platform, developed only recently, became a vague

bellishment demanded of Marino. He desired some specificity, and is expected to develop in some detail some of his positions as the campaign progresses.

Marino's record is solid. He was a nine-year Councilman, until he ran for mayor two years ago and lost. As a councilman, he established solid Democratic credentials, and was generally a regular middle-of-the-road thinker, with a sprinkling of liberal ideas. He's a businessman in town, in his middle forties, and he's been involved in a series of community activities. He is a good friend of the Democratic party's elder statesman in town, John Tynan, who is a former state motor vehicle head. While that connection has generally been a good one for Tony Marino, it is there that some of his recent difficulties have found foundation, as accusations of his connections to "machine politics" have flown forth. He, as well as other party leaders

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## LETTERS

### Attacking the Times

## To the Editors:

Robert Parnes' letter of Oct. 16 mainly demonstrates his ignorance of what's been happening in Portugal. That's not surprising since he apparently relies on the New York Times for his information.

As someone who was in Portugal at the time, I saw that the elections, if anything, were a victory for revolutionary socialism because most of the people voted for parties proclaiming, whether honestly or not, those aims.

Cynically accommodating themselves to the leftist popular mood, the Socialists and Popular Democrats, their ranks swelled by the disenfranchised fascists, waved red banners, saluted with clenched fists, and militantly called for the expropriation of the wicked capitalists. In short, they pretended to be redder than Rosa Luxemburg. In a nation where capitalism had produced a 40% illiteracy rate, this tactic was momentarily successful, allowing the New York Times to interpret, by some weird magic, the election results as a "stunning victory for moderation." Slick stuff, but not that novel. The signatures of the CIA and the West European intelligence agencies were apparent. It was not the first time they had infiltrated or even created their own "radical" groups to do mischief on the left.

Naturally, when the Socialists and Popular Democrats were able to parlay their ideologically stolen votes into power, they immediately announced their intention to abandon socialism and restrict popular democracy. Again, the Times applauded "moderation."

However, the Portuguese people did not applaud. They have their own definitions of socialism and democracy, somewhat different from those of Kissinger, Colby, and the Times. They believe, and more power to them, that democracy is not, as conventional American wisdom has it, a process strictly of campaign debates between lying politicians. Democracy for them is a broader concept. It means workers running factories, soldiers deciding for themselves what they are willing to risk their lives for, printers and reporters writing their own editorials, and farmers sharing in the fruits of their own labor.

Of course, when democracy moves beyond the political arena controlled by corporate interests, corporations like the Times call it "anarchy,"

"mutiny," and "extremism." What else is new?

Finally, Parnes is factually in error when he says that Republica and the Catholic radio station were closed. They were taken over by their own workers in actions that had nothing to do with the government. In light of recent events, I agree with Parnes claim that popular rule has been reinstated. Only it is not to be found nowadays in government or corporate offices, but in the streets, factories, farms, and barracks of Portugal.

Pete Karman  
12 Knowles Avenue Ext.  
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## NCWOSNPPM

Dear Mr. Cohen,

In good faith, I offer the following comments:

I was so distressed by your most thoughtful article for the new *Activist Call*, that I feel obligated to issue this ominous warning: Beware, Jim, of the day when you too will take a Cleaverian turn! One hopes however, that you will not get stuck designing phallus pouches - a punishment that Marx, just advanced from Purgatory, reportedly convinced God to levy on all those silly enough to have believed in Socialism in the first place.

Anyway, I predict it will be another few years before you make your political 180; so don't let that keep you from saying "comrade".

In the meanwhile, should you make any progress in furthering post office Socialism, (in which, the decadent capitalist-base-that-purchases-its-own-stamps-places-them-on-a-purchased-envelope-addresses-it-and-even-delivers-it-to-a-central-depository-logically-hinders-a-system-otherwise-workable), you really ought to make provisions for your own irreversible fate.

How about creating a government bureau-say, the National Commission on Welfare for the Once Socialists Now Phallus Pouch Makers: The NCWOSNPPM, if you will.

Cordially,  
Greg Powell

Cohen replies: I can't make head or tail of this letter, but since it's *Hermes'* policy to publish letters regardless of their intelligibility, I leave it to the public to decipher Mr. Powell's message. In the event that Mr. Powell ever decides to address himself to issues rather than personalities, his contribution will be welcome.

### NOTE: This is the second in a series of articles on homosexuality by David Leisner.

by David Leisner

Just as children, artists and psychotics are those human beings who mirror blown-up images of our most well-preserved secrets, the homosexual is a microcosm of the struggle in everyone that takes place at the ineffable boundary between the sexes.

That statement is dense with implication and meaning, and before it can be discussed more fully, I wish to make two distinctions, the content of which will fill the remainder of this article: physical in comparison with sexual, and effeminacy/masculinity as distinct from homosexuality.

Most Americans regard being physical with others as the same as being sexual with others. Though we may deny this intellectually, we often confirm it in our actions. Social standards in America require physical distance to be far. An American's circle of privacy-space is much larger than those of many, if not most, other cultures. This means that the socially accepted situations in which intimacy and physicality are permitted are greatly reduced; and so, physical affection has often become tense, in its uneasy proximity to sexuality, the ultimate intimacy. It is always socially acceptable for a man to be brutally physical with another man as a show of affection, for instance, a hard slap on the back; but what questioning looks he will attract when he gently and lovingly touches or holds the other man. One of the sad facts of American social life is that, in relating to others outside the family structure, most of us learn to be sexual before we learn to be physical. Worded differently -- we often bypass the simple show of affection that is touching and proceed instead to that complexity which is seduction.

Where is the boundary between the physical and the sexual? I suppose that they



may be considered as descriptions of sensory, tactile gestures and feelings which differ in that it has a definite intent, conscious or not, to arouse erotically. The clearest example of the border line experience would be a back massage between two friends. What began as an earnest attempt of the massager to relax and loosen the back muscles of the massaged may change subtly into a suggestive, more deliberate stimulation. The massaged feels the change in touch and has experienced the boundary. An example of the American's ignorance of the distinction between the two is the immediate reaction you just now read "massage" -- you probably thought something like, "I know where this is going to lead!", while the

image of a massage parlor possibly floated nearby. Have we forgotten that the pleasurable experience of a massage does not necessarily have to be sexual?

I have often envisioned a scene with a close friend (of either sex) and me in total nudity where we are utterly, comfortably, physically affectionate, with no sexual complications. It is a joyful fantasy and one, I suspect, not uncommon. I long for the return of innocence in an age of over-sophistication.

The other clarification I concern myself with here has to do with the lamentable stereotype of male homosexuals as effeminate and female homosexuals as exceptionally masculine. "But it's true, is it not?" you ask, wide-eyed. No! No! No! say I resolutely, stomping foot through the floor. It is only that the effeminate male gays and masculine female gays are more visible, more obvious. Their distinguishability makes them convenient models for labels. It may surprise you, for example, that most transvestites are heterosexual (Confirmed by Stoller in *Sex and Gender*, and

### Green and Money in Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment).

It is true that homosexuality is inextricably bound up with issues of sexual identity, but people handle these issues in widely varied ways. Many gays assume typical characteristics of the opposite sex, while many more -- a majority, is my intuition -- do not. This group of people, like most true majority groups, are less vocal and less concerned with attracting public attention. And then there is that large number of individuals who are latently homosexual and who are most certainly not easily distinguishable.

One major reason, I am quite sure, for there being a great deal of latency, is that people think that in order for them to enact the homosexual side of themselves, they must act like the opposite sex, and they are afraid of this. When we learn that homosexuality is not necessarily linked with effeminacy or excessive masculinity, and when we grow more comfortable with touching other people physically as opposed to sexually, we will become a much more candid, happier society.

### Response to Nachbar Dept.

## Arrogance and Sincerity on Journal Writing Trail

Editor's note: This is a response to an article written by Paul Nachbar '79 that appeared in the Oct. 2 *Hermes*. In that article, Nachbar described his first few weeks as a Wesleyan student.

by Elissa Ely

I wonder what it is about arrogance that bothers me so much. Maybe it's a dismal I'm-hip attitude, maybe it's a coat of ineffectual humor that makes it as uncomfortable as watching someone sweat in an oversized, unrefined wool jacket. Or maybe it's the intensity of the arrogance -- I mean, he really believes in his own arrogance. It's limiting, it's final, but it sure is sincere ... Anyway, perhaps another person, writing out of feelings somewhat more violent than sophisticated depression, can set her initial experiences here into different personal patterns. Unlike Paul Nachbar, I wouldn't think of universalizing them, and I don't think about their working or not working. They're what I am. Besides, there is no alternative "killer frisbee" game going on outside my window. It's raining.

The journal I kept last year, and still keep (there is never "too damned much to write" for writers) is black and stained with wax. Sometimes it's very hard for me to open to its first sections, and sometimes it's easy.

It's easy when I've convinced myself that my orientation towards this place is a transgressible level I've transgressed -- a series of doors that have to be pushed open and pushed open but, technique learned, become lighter and lighter until they're heavy curtains, and then light curtains, and then they're all together behind you. It's easy when I figure I've pushed the last curtain aside and have exploded out of the telephone booth in true T.V. serial transformation. I'm - hip-arrogant-through-it-and-superfreshman. I can vince appropriately at the *Argus*, I can throw casual-but-carefully-timed references into conversations about initiation experiences and orientation week honeys and graveyard nights. We all know those things available to freshman so that they'll have something in common to discuss once they can be sure they don't have to worry about them anymore but don't have anything else in common to discuss, right? I can do-can you? It's royal hierarchy on that hip-scale. - how long did it take you to learn it?

I think I'm still dialing "O" back in the booth.

My journal, when I'm removed enough to open it, spits out many things. It tells that I came here with the "usual runs of paranoias" - self-doubts about personality, intelligence, and inherent capability standing out on me like an advanced case of chicken pox. It tells just how stripped of myself I felt, how I rejected before I was rejected, and satirized about before I was satirized on. It tells how much time I spent being witty, and it doesn't have to add that what was wit then is pathos now. It tells that long before I took Sociology 151 I knew about roles and put high value on certain of the more longed-for ones.

Most importantly, it tells - bleeding in a very embarrassing way across the pages - how I searched during those first shocked weeks for someone hip enough (and arrogant enough) to meet my expectations of the adjusted college person: someone who mocked those parties a la 1968 where they were actually serious about politics, who survived the "boredom" of orientation by writing satires on Oedipus (and succeeding), driving to Hartford in conspicuous and cool escape; or else, no other avenue open, someone who resigned himself to simple compromise - drinking too much, smoking too much (no first-joint man, he) and doing "freakier things than anyone on campus." Now, this was a proper orientation.

So, I leaf through more wax, not remembering but wondering if I found that person. I read that it was not precocious at all to catch mono after two and a half weeks - that some even brought it with them, packed next to their freshly-cleaned pipe

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# Wes. Priorities: Open Letter to CGC

I am a freshman who was, frankly, completely surprised at the scope, and even the existence, of Wesleyan's financial problems. Before I came here in August, I thought Wes. was filthy rich and had no money worries. Since then, however, I have been enlightened (or should I say en-darkened) concerning the facts: I've taken a strong interest in these problems, and have read much on the subject. This interest is mostly fired by the realization that, while Wesleyan is a fantastic place, it is not quite all I imagined it to be: and it seems to be going downhill even more. What I in my idealistic passion want to do is to stop the downward trend, and then make it everything I imagined it to be. So, although I know this letter is rather late, I'd like to tell you a few of my recommendations for the University, based on some of my priorities, and in reaction to the various reports (e.g. Redbook, FPC, SPP). Here goes:

(1) If people will make a commitment, and maybe be willing to suffer small discomfort, we might be able to save considerably more on fuel costs. I propose keeping temperatures in all University buildings at not more than about 66 degrees in winter. (A few exceptions may have to be made—for example, possibly animal rooms in Biology would need a higher temperature). This temperature might bother some, but could be offset by the simple process of dressing more warmly. And it has several advantages: a) Saving on fuel costs, b) less use of energy and therefore less environmental degradation and pollution, and c) generally, strange though it may seem, better health: there would be less inside-outside temperature shock, and air would not be dried out as much, causing drying of skin and mucous membranes. Janitors should make frequent checks to make sure that these temperatures are maintained; otherwise, the policy might be ineffective.

Likewise, air conditioning in the summer should not entail cooling to less than 80 degrees. Where possible, open windows and doors should be used for cooling and ventilation instead of air conditioning. In closed areas, a few fans might be operated at a lesser cost than air conditioning, if necessary (I am thinking specifically of 033 Rehearsal Hall, where fresh air is nonexistent).

During the heating season, of course, no outside doors should be propped wide open, nor in the cooling season if air conditioning is on. (Otherwise, one is air-conditioning the outdoors). I think much more effective weatherstripping of doors could be done at little cost. Cuts in fuel consumption should start now.

(2) Physical plant management should be cut, and significantly. Certainly one needs a work coordinator, etc., but a 7:1 worker to management ratio (figures from Redbook, 138:19) is crazy and very inefficient, especially when one looks at a proposed 12:1 student-faculty ratio. I can't believe that there isn't much unnecessary expense there.

(3) Faculty advisors should definitely replace deans to a large extent. The faculty advising system seems to be atrophied and is in sad shape, which is a sad comment on the school.

(4) I favor a faculty-staff pay-raise freeze for a year instead of continuing indefinitely at a 4% increase per year. If a 7% rate were resumed after a freeze, it would be less prohibitive to new (and old) faculty than a continual decrease in real income. Faculty quality is extremely important: good teachers must be sought as well as good scholars. To this end, serious attention should be given to serious student evaluation of faculty. Also, faculty should not be given course relief for committee work, as a fringe benefit.

(5) I think that the Redbook cut in faculty is too great; also, 12:1 starts looking even less competitive with schools like Yale. Unmediated student-teacher interaction is not the only thing, but it is very important. I hope you don't want Wes. to become an impersonal school with only infrequent and formal student-faculty contact. Sometimes the discussion of a "too low student-faculty ratio" in previous years sounds to me like one university's former president proudly boasting of significantly raising the ratio. I find it a backward way to look at things.

I go along more with the 10% faculty cut advocated by the FPC (although I vehemently disagree with some of their other proposals). However, I am against a lower arbitrary retirement age, and warn that if irregular faculty are the focus of many cuts, this could seriously affect some departments (e.g. music). A 10% faculty cut, with a 100-student increase, gives an 11:1 ratio rather than 12:1—considerably better, and also better-looking to applicants.

(6) The 100-student increase, I suppose, wouldn't ruin the small-school values and strengths of Wes. much more than they already have been. I would like to see a definite promise, though, that we never increase to more than 2350 undergraduates, and that a size decrease be very seriously considered if we get back on our feet somewhat.

(7) Institutional research is very questionably productive, I think; Wes. students can't be made into statistics that easily. Also, the very humorous way the students look upon the so-called orientation "psycho tests" gives one the idea that this shouldn't be taken seriously anyway.

(8) Faculty research, however, is very important. I certainly don't want to see any more cuts than are in the Redbook budget on this. Increased efforts for outside grants should be lauded.

(9) Wesleyan should keep trying to sell the AEP bldg., and also any other primarily commercial property it has, such as the Long Hill Road land. After all, when are we ever going to expand university operations to all of these far-from-campus plots? (In the Greenbook, future expansion was a major incentive for keeping extra property.) On the other hand, I think we should hang on to the valuable cultural artifacts we have, such as the rare book and print collections. Universities should have custodial responsibility for such things and should want to. Also, in my opinion, having these valuables for use and appreciation, or even just knowing they're there, adds much to the school.

In addition, and sometimes as a consequence of, selling land or buildings, we should consolidate into somewhat fewer buildings for optimum use. Optimum, however, does not by any means mean crowding.

(10) The Arts Center administration should be cut back.

(11) Admissions office and funding should not be cut. Now, when our applicant pool is going down in quantity, and some say quality, and we are increasing the student body, is the time when we can least afford to be lax in admissions. We must in-

crease the pool, while keeping or even upgrading standards. Also, more diversity should be sought: some of it geographical (to counter the distinct impression that everyone is from New York and Jewish—nothing against N.Y. Jews). Diversity is one reason I think we must keep up financial aid. Another reason is that I'm on it and wouldn't be here without it.

One idea I had, though it may at first seem insignificant, might not be: Why not plan ahead a little earlier in the year as far as courses go, so that one bulletin could serve both as general information (like the viewbook) and as course announcement? Corrections and additions to the course announcement could be printed up just before 1st semester starts at much less cost. Also, with part of this savings, the catalogue might be made somewhat more attractive, like the '68 and '69 catalogs. Though some might say this is looking for the wrong thing, it could be effective in catching some peoples' eyes, people who would never have thought about coming to Wesleyan or maybe not even heard about it otherwise, but who might become very interested.

(12) University relations is also very important, but I agree with the SPP that \$100,000 should be cut from this budget. An idea: some gifts might be obtained for specific purposes from persons or organizations who would otherwise not contribute at all: I am thinking here, specifically, of endowment for funding the gallery program. (By the way, aren't one- or two-month-long exhibitions in the gallery a little ridiculous?)

(13) The library. Its importance is hard to overestimate. If we weeded the useless trash out of the collection, and took into account that huge numbers of that huge number of volumes consist of periodicals, I think we'd see that the library is not quite so great as it's talked up to be. I would be extremely cautious in decreasing acquisitions, except in periodicals (for instance, some of the science periodicals in umpteen different languages get practically, or actually, no use at all, I'm sure.) Interlibrary loan, especially with Yale, should be developed, but we must realize that this can be very inconvenient and does not mean that Wes. can have a below-par library. I agree with the FPC that the library committee should be strengthened, but the opinion of librarians on any library matters must be carefully listened to.

Looking ahead (how many years?), a new library should be the first priority for any new construction project, probably even before a dining hall (which means it's as urgent as any can be in this financial state). Endowment gifts for a new library should still be solicited. I can see a new library system, ages and ages hence, working possibly in one of the following three ways: 1) The new building would house all of what Olin and storage areas hold now, with Olin maybe converted into a Student Center; 2) The new library being a supplement to Olin; and 3) The new library together with Olin housing the entire collection, including science, with the science library converted, maybe, into a Student Center. Enough dreams.

(14) One last thing, on educational policy: I did not like your hint of instating a mandatory Freshman Integrated Program at all. I'm not so sure "common experience" means so much to me in terms of everyone studying the same thing: we are better off by far having a common experience of wide diversity. The liberal arts education, Renaissance man, etc., is a good goal to be strived for—but not to the same degree for everyone, even at Wesleyan. I don't think that the seven guideline areas are necessarily good for everyone. Most of the people accepted by Wesleyan have wide enough interests so that the guidelines do not have to be held over their heads as a requirement, to be formally reinstated as such if not closely followed. The sham of 'guidelines' instead of 'requirements'

is a hypocrisy now: it should not be. Wesleyan should face up to its belief in student maturity, and let students decide what is a good education for them, while being encouraged, not forced, to explore as fully as possible the vast world of knowledge and thought.

I hope you will accept these comments, proposals, and criticisms in the same concern—that for the best interests and good of Wesleyan and its people, present and future—in which they are tendered.

Sincerely,  
Miles D. Ehrlich '79  
(Box 169 Wes. Station)

## B-I Teach-in

by Maury Israel

The Stop the B-1 Bomber Campaign will hold a teach-in on the B-1 bomber and General Electric this Saturday, Nov. 1, at the Newman Center on the campus of the University of Bridgeport. It will be followed by an afternoon rally at G.E. headquarters in Fairfield.

The B-1 is a proposed new bomber to succeed the B-52 and FB-111 for both nuclear delivery and future Vietnam-type wars. It is currently the most highly touted project of the Air Force. The cost of the B-1 would be astronomical. Original estimates of the total cost of the weapons system (241 bombers plus all support elements) ranged from an Air Force estimate of \$43 billion to a Princeton study figure of \$75 billion.



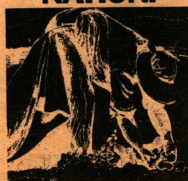
The two groups most avidly promoting the B-1 bomber - the Air Force and several major corporations - are those with the most to gain from it. Rockwell International has a \$1.37 billion contract to build the airframes. General Electric has a \$458 million contract for the jet engines. Boeing has a \$774 million contract to furnish the electronic "eye and brains" of the bomber.

There has already been a good deal of congressional activity on B-1 prototype. However, particularly crucial congressional vote on the B-1 will come up early next summer. It is towards these votes that the Campaign is gearing itself.

The national Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber is a joint effort of the American Friends Service Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned. Integral to the Campaign is conversion of military to peacetime industries. Cambridge AFSC, for example, has prepared legislative proposals for the state of Massachusetts that would provide employment, benefits, and training for workers dislocated by such conversion.

Saturday's teach-in will focus on G.E.'s role as a multi-national corporation in the proposed production of the B-1. The teach-in will roughly coincide with General Electric's annual information meeting being held this year in San Francisco. The day's activities will include an address on General Electric, a discussion of the labor perspective and workers' security, and presentation of the slide show "The Supersonic Swing-Wing Swindle." The rally at G.E. will be addressed by former B-52 pilot Dan Dawson.

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# Food Aid: Humanitarian or Rational?

by Jeffrey Weinstein

Stomach bloated, skin stretched over ribs, eyes bulging — this emaciated, huddled mass will soon die. Half a million Africans, Asians and Latin Americans will die this year. Another 500 million severely malnourished will tenuously cling to life. As the food crisis has worsened, Third World countries have increasingly look for help from the United States, the country with the greatest food surpluses.

An intense controversy has developed over what the United States should do with its grain supply. The conflict basically comes down to two schools of thought which I shall label the humanitarian viewpoint and the rational viewpoint. I shall examine these viewpoints through magazine articles and student opinion.

Jack Anderson, in his article "Who Gets U.S. Food Aid and Why," expresses what I call the humanitarian viewpoint: giving food to those who need it without strings or politics. Wade Greene, in his article "TRIAGE," discusses what I call the rational viewpoint: giving food only to those countries which have something to offer the U.S. or to countries which will clearly benefit from the food.

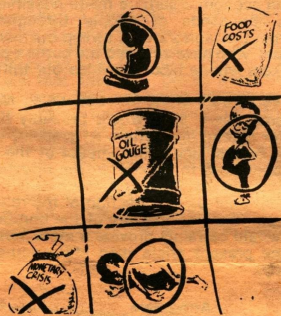
First let us analyze Jack Anderson's humanitarian viewpoint through his article. In it Anderson emphasizes the cruel, self-centered approach that the U.S. has used in distributing its surplus food. To fully understand U.S. policy on food aid, let us look at Anderson's explanation of the bureaucracy controlling such aid. According to Anderson, the U.S. uses the Interagency Staff Committee to supervise Food for Peace, the food lending program. The U.S. placed the I.S.C. under the National Security Council, the council in charge of expanding political and military influence. Therefore our food lending policy is controlled by strategists. To show the values of the National Security Council, Anderson quoted one of its spokesmen who said, "To give food aid to countries just because people are starving is a pretty weak reason." Anderson accurately interprets this policy to mean, "In countries of no strategic consequence, the people must go hungry."

In this bureaucracy the premise that mass starvation is of secondary importance influences the policy making of another agency: the State Department. For 1975 the State Department had devised three alternative programs for food lending. These plans were based on political and military expedience. All three programs gave South Vietnam and Cambodia \$240 million in food credit. The first program gave food to the Middle East, Chile and Korea but stopped all food for Indonesia, a country suffering severe famine. The second gave even more food to the Middle East and some to the Caribbean for political projects. At the same time, it authorized little to starvation plagued southern Asia. The third program did give more to India and Bangladesh, not to feed the starving, but to placate the domestic humanitarian bloc.

To get a clearer picture of this bureaucracy's goals, let's turn to Anderson's account of last year's food loans. In this period alone, the U.S. sent a half-billion dollars worth of food to support its puppet dictatorships in South Vietnam and Cambodia. These countries deviously sold the food to build up their defense budgets. In response Congress outlawed the use of food aid for military purposes. These Indochinese countries then developed an even more sinister method of converting food aid to defense funds. They sold the food to fund non-defense programs allowing them to use for defense the money they would have spent on these programs. For military reasons, our country gave half of its food aid to less than one percent of the world's population. This is not the only example of our country giving extra aid to those who can help us. In the past the U.S. has never given Jamaica much aid, but it recently gave that country a \$1.5 million food loan. Our country made this sudden

change in policy because it began talks on the fate of its bauxite reserves there. While the U.S. was working on a Middle East peace settlement, it lent Syria \$22.5 million worth of grain. Soon afterwards, the U.S. granted Egypt \$68 million in food credit. This gift to Egypt was in conflict with our policy of restricting food shipments from countries trading with Cuba. Obviously the U.S. discriminately enforces its own policies.

That same year, we required of Bangladesh, with its 35 million starving people, that it terminate its sales of burlap bags to Cuba. In exchange for that sacrifice, we only sent Bangladesh a meager four percent of our food aid. Anderson reported that in addition to neglecting Bangladesh, the U.S. failed to give special attention to other desperately poor nations as well. In the Sahara region of Africa, our country allowed six million people to go hungry and a hundred thousand to die of starvation by giving them only eight percent of its food aid. We sent India, a country with twenty times the population of South Vietnam and Cambodia, only eight percent of our food aid. The U.S. gave food to only three countries on the United Nation's list of the thirty-two most needy. One of these ignored countries, Sierra Leone, had to buy grain at high prices from Egypt at a



time when Egypt was receiving inexpensive U.S. grain.

A starving child of the Third World, meanwhile, doesn't know a Communist from a koala bear... He must die because his country is not of "strategic interest" to the United States.

Essentially, the humanitarians such as Anderson want the United States to give its entire food surplus to the most needy nations. To avoid any bias in food distribution, the humanitarians would probably use the U.N. list to designate which countries truly are the most needy.

But surely we Americans also must worry about our own country's welfare. Our country is plunging into a financial crisis: recession, high unemployment, and a huge national debt. If our government were to buy all our surplus grain from farmers and just give the food away, it would increase our national debt and thrust a tremendous burden on the tax payer-intensifying our recession. In order to produce the food, the U.S. needs more money to pay the increased prices of oil. Without oil the U.S. would be unable to make fertilizer, run its tractors or irrigation pumps.

"As long as our country is going to place a huge financial burden on us, we may as well give the food to our friends," the rationalists would say. They want to give food to countries with something to offer. Since rationalists are in power their policy is enforced. We help the countries which have valuable resources we need, or countries which have delicate negotiations with us. When two countries are at war, we feed our ally as we use starvation tactics against our enemy. On the other hand, we have reduced the aid to nations such as India, which spend their money on nuclear weapons — weapons which threaten U.S. military superiority. In addition we don't lend food to the many Third World countries which weaken U.S. prestige by calling Americans "imperialistic pigs."

Some rationalists believe that it's foolish to give food to most of these Third World countries anyway. When

we give our food away, we create hundreds of millions of dependents. If, in a given country, there are more people than the land can support, we would only augment the problem by increasing the population. Should we feed people who apparently will never be able to support themselves?

"Let them die for the good of the world," the rationalists would answer. In a New York Times article Dr. Garrett Hardin, a noted ecologist-biologist, professed that the solution is triage: helping those with the best chance of recovery while letting the weakest die. Hardin also describes his method as "lifeboat ethics." He drew an analogy in which the industrialized countries were in lifeboats and the starving nations were drowning. If the save nations let all the drowning nations into the boat, Hardin said, "the boat swamps, and everyone drowns. Complete justice, complete disaster." The rationalists maintain that if we can't save everyone, we might as well save those who will quickly become self-supporting. Essentially they wish to help only those countries suffering from sudden disasters, such as hurricanes, earthquakes and floods. They wouldn't give food to countries such as India which have more people than the limited land can support. They ask, "Why is it immoral to let millions die now if we save hundreds of millions in the end?"

It is immoral, however, to treat people like numbers and to let them die in hordes. The rationalist viewpoint is cruelly self-centered. Looking at the arguments of Harris Gleckman in his article "Food as a Weapon in Foreign Policy," we can see why. The rationalists would play God, deciding which people shall live and which shall die. This country, dominated by Caucasians, would actually be practicing genocide on other races. We Americans can tighten up our belts quite a bit before we could try to justify dictating starvation to others. We form six percent of the world's population, yet we piggishly gorge ourselves with 33 percent of the world's resources. According to Gleckman, the rationalists blame mass starvation on a food crisis which they themselves created. The rationalists hoard food in order to strike a good bargain for oil. Whether the poor live or die depend on whether the rationalists are satisfied at that moment with the price of petroleum. Once we Americans accept massive starvation as part of the solution to the food shortage, we will lose any motivation to cut back on our gluttonous over-consumption. We won't feel the guilt necessary to make us strive toward a solution. Gleckman concludes his argument against triage:

It assumes, mistakenly, that weak nations are like wounded soldiers... Countries do not die. Their people continue to starve more and suffer more. The only time the comparison holds is when a whole people are forced to die — in other words, genocide.

Since rationalism is cruel and humanitarianism inefficient, we need another alternative. I searched for one at a recent meeting of the North East Hunger Action Alliance, an organization of college students dedicated to fighting famine. I asked some members for their solution. Three of the seven students I talked to supported the humanitarian viewpoint. They basically wanted to give the entire U.S. surplus to the 32 countries on the UN most needy list. One of these three students supported restrictions on defense spending in recipient nations. The other two disapproved of any U.S. interference in the internal affairs of these nations. Another student supported the rational viewpoint. She favored the use of food to fight communism and to help countries suffering from sudden disasters. However, three students astutely contended that the problem lies in U.S. over-consumption and in too much emphasis on short term solutions.

First we shall examine how the U.S. can reduce its massive waste of natural resources. According to William Moyer and Pamela Haines, in their article "how we cause world hunger,"

the U.S. must strive to achieve four main objectives: to end political interference, to stop corporate exploitation of poor, to "develop," and to "re-develop." Moyer and Haines justifiably disapprove of our country's squandering billions of dollars of scarce resources to support puppet governments throughout the world. The U.S. must allow poor nations to control their own reserves free from corporate domination. By "de-development," Moyer and Haines mean that the U.S. must cut down on its use of resources by eighty to ninety percent. We Americans have learned to become rich "...which is according to Gandhi," not only the art of accumulating much money for ourselves but also (the art) of contriving that our neighbors shall have less... It is the end of establishing the maximum inequality in our favor." The authors' final point is that we must "re-develop" or, in other words, learn to live more simply. We must lead spiritualistic, rather than materialistic, lives.



## THE RAFT

Newsweek, in its article "Running Out of Food," mentions more specifically how we Americans can consume less. If we would stop buying up fertilizer for our golf courses and lawns, starving people could afford it-enabling them to grow more food. Since we indirectly consume seven pounds of grain for every pound of meat we eat, we should eat lower on the food chain. By decreasing our meat consumption by ten percent, we could feed 60 million more people with grain.

Newsweek also has suggestions concerning long range development. The U.S. must show countries how to store and distribute their food. India lost twenty percent of its last U.S. grain shipment to vermin and rot. The lost grain could have fed more than two million people. We could help these countries become more productive by encouraging agrarian reform: dividing farm land up among the workers or giving them a share of the profits. As proven recently in Japan, people work harder when they profit directly. We could place restrictions on defense spending and require birth control programs in recipient nation. If under developed countries stop wasting money on defense and halt their continuous growth in population, they'll then have a chance to achieve self-sufficiency.



## THE YACHT

Newsweek also mentioned the possibility of an emergency grain reserve of ten to fifty million tons.

In order to prevent a recurrence of this present famine, this country must make large sacrifices. Americans must give up their steaks and just green lawns. We must start giving food to those who need it instead of those who can help us. We have to educate these countries about birth control, defense limitations and agrarian reform. Americans can save these other countries, but the road is hard — requiring perseverance and dedication. If we don't, we will encounter massive famines. We must realize that the hungry wouldn't just lie down and die; they would rise up and attack the industrialized nations in a final attempt at survival. The choice is ours: we can struggle to help the Third World nations or we can permit massive famines to continue risking World War III.



## Thinking Macro

(Continued from Page One)

purpose do they serve? Who needs them?

This is tantamount to asking: what product does Wesleyan produce, and who, if anyone, has any use for it? Wesleyan, it is said, produces people who know how to think. That's one way of answering the question, but it's not specific enough. In economic terms, the main product that Wesleyan produces is middle and high-level professionals: doctors, lawyers, managers, scientific researchers, journalists, administrators, scholars, and the like. (There's also the Educational Studies Program, which provides a short-cut for those who don't mind terribly becoming professionals of the very lowest level, i.e., schoolteachers.)

By now it should be clear that, far from existing exclusively in the service of "learning for its own sake" Wesleyan exists largely to produce young, ambitious professionals to fill specific functions in the American economy. Of course, a few of our number end up pushing drugs, assembling Chevies, pumping gas, waiting on table, drifting, panhandling, or sitting at home in Scarsdale wondering where to turn, but you can chalk that up to "colorful diversity." Those maladjusted people are the exceptions, right?

That's not so clear. In the absence of statistics, it's hard to say, but I would wager that an increasing number of recent Wesleyan alumni have resigned themselves to non-professional jobs, or have declined to undergo the growing series of "hassles" necessary to land high positions. This is a sign that the economy into which Wesleyan is integrated is in deep crisis, and unable to provide satisfying jobs to the increasing numbers of intellectuals who pour onto the job market each year.

The university reacts to this crisis by taking measures against it — after all, how many parents will continue to sink \$3500 per year into a fancy Wesleyan education if the results are consistently below expectation? The safeguards against this include elaborate counseling in survival (hence, Deans, Mental Health, Career Planning); stepping up the competition (e.g., the pre-med squid syndrome); making sure to admit a more docile breed of student, etc. In short, the university adjusts by adapting to the system. What else would you expect it to do?

These measures, however, are only a part of the general effort to "rationalize operations." With all those rising costs, cuts have to be made somewhere, and so, the administration and the trustees agree that financial aid, maintenance workers, and the academic departments are prime candidates for the meat cleaver. In the interest of appearing "progressive," the administration keeps scholarships at the same dollar level as before, but inflation will surely take its toll on that dollar level! As for academic endeavors, it becomes clear to anyone with "business sense" that they must suffer. There is no reason to think that the trustees and the administration don't actually believe everything they say about "upholding our traditional standards of excellence," and all that jazz — but in practice, they are quite capable, in the name of "rational management," of bleeding the departments, or rather, allowing the departments themselves the privilege of deciding how they shall be bled.

The moral of the story is that private university administration is a business that differs from most in that its 'products' are thinking, feeling human beings — but it remains, essentially, a business, where human beings take on, willy-nilly, the aspect of cogs in a machine. When crisis comes, there is no way that the Board of Trustees (which is made up of corporate executives and lawyers in its majority) will fail to do what is "businesslike." This means that the system of which they happen to be leading members (and which I shall call "monopoly capitalism") is one in which cultivation of the humanities is (increasingly) a luxury.

To define American society as 'capitalist,' as I have done, is to define it according to its mode of production. In every society, educational systems are fashioned in such a way as to reproduce the social relations of production. For many years, however, elite colleges were not an integral part of the system of production. They merely functioned to disseminate the ideologies of the capitalist system. But the days of the ivory tower are, in an important sense, gone for good. As economist Samuel Bowles writes, "the classroom, as well as the factory floor and the office, may now be the stage on which the contradictions of the corporate capitalist economy are acted out."

This is all very clear and elementary to the students at large state universities, where cutbacks are perpetrated directly by the capitalist state, and have a direct effect on students'

chances for gainful employment. But at Wesleyan and other private institutions, the effect of oppression is much less clearly perceived. First of all, the whole discussion of cutbacks takes on a participatory, democratic aura: "Let's all decide together how to attack the quality of our education!" Secondly, even in the event that cutbacks are carried out (as is now the case), who feels really under attack? Well, there's the faculty, whose standard of living (second highest among professors in Connecticut) is clearly threatened. As for students, there is only a vague, diffuse feeling of genuine oppression. Despite bigger classes, Wesleyan remains "one of the best." It remains, for most, a launching pad to a lucrative, interesting career.

The struggle to maintain the benefits that were possible before the recession is not perceived as a fight against capitalist management practices and against an educational system in crisis, but rather as a mad scramble to maintain one's former share of a big but shrinking pie. Perhaps that's why "student power," at Wesleyan, has such a hollow ring at present.

Before we begin to panic about the effects of the financial squeeze on Wesleyan, which remains despite all an elite institution, let us look — for once — beyond the narrow bounds of the campus in an attempt to situate the university in its context in American society. Wesleyan, we learn, is by no means a neutral institution. On the one hand, it is not one of those institutions which furnishes battle plans to the Pentagon. On the other hand, it is one of those academies which produces ideas which are crucial, or at the very least helpful, to the continued world domination of American corporations. The government and economics departments and CSS, above all others here, are dedicated to the formation of "enlightened" continuators of bourgeois rule. (The rest of the departments merely prepare a youthful intelligentsia for a life of privilege, ease and acceptance of the status quo.) Moreover, the university perpetuates the capitalist division of labor by producing "experts" in restricted areas of knowledge while making it difficult — despite a variety of interdisciplinary experiments — to form a total picture of society and our role in it. Instead, we're taught to mind our own business, to get ahead, to chase down whatever careers the capitalist system happens to be offering. Rarely are we encouraged to question very deeply the nature of that system and its effects on humanity.

Wesleyan University, that jewel of American civilization, was created out of an economic surplus made possible by the labor of countless thousands of people throughout the American empire, from the janitors who sweep out our dorms (those janitors, at least, who have survived the current policy of attrition) to the workers whose labor provides our tuition and our endowment.

If these people were aware of the function which Wesleyan and other elite colleges serve, they would probably have the place closed down for careful inspection. At present, working people in the United States, under the impact of the current recession, are just beginning to awaken to the effects of the capitalist system on human life. But it is by no means too early for us students to begin our own inspection of the role of the private university in perpetuating the role of the corporations. Such an inspection would certainly provide a more solid basis for understanding the present crisis than still another comparative budget study.

## Arrogance

(Continued from Page Two)

hopes of setting up some sort of fund-raising function (bake sale, fair) that will bring students and townfolk together. Another suggestion is to hold informal student debates at the house concerning a local common-interest issue.

Their imagination extends, of course, to the innovative character of the restaurant. People are invited to come in and prepare their favorite dish (main course, dessert, bread, etc.) with expenses paid by the management. Student musicians are invited to play. For October 31 they plan a Halloween party (by reservation only) with dinner, games, and a costume contest (maybe even trick or treating).

## Menu Ltd.

(Continued from Page Four)

and dope box, waiting only until it could be appreciated before unpacking it. I read, that it was only the individuals who didn't blow out Gallo-sorted breath. I read that the few men who I had to "forcibly arouse" from my bed where they were trying to get some sleep, didn't really want to be led back to their rooms at all, because the thought of emptiness maybe frightened them a little more than they wanted to say. I read, watching my paragraphs laugh that those who thought they were spending their time fighting boredom "through various desperate acts" like trapeze artists - kept journals that were blank. But not because there was too much to write and see. Because they never even spit on their contact lenses and put them in.

Sometimes I think that my feelings are too old. My words don't seem to be for people who feel that adjustment, of any kind is a series of clear steps that are hurdled and then ridiculed. My words may not be for me. But my instincts tell me that all of all of me is ongoing, and so I try hard to avoid flippancy; it fizzes too quickly.

I'm not down on flat humor. I'm not even down on poor humor. It just seems to me that someone whose defenses are so refined that he can only deal with things in a semi-cute, final way might profit more from a different kind of experience, one that could really utilize his energy. Like leaping buildings in a single bound.

## Mayor

(Continued from Page One)

in town, vigorously deny the existence of any "machine," and point to the party's recent primary and preferential poll as evidence that no machine exists. That argument has been countered by non-supporters who claim the primary was forced by Democrats closed out by a "machine" process.

Those non-supporters turn to Seb Garafalo as the candidate supposedly least tainted by "machine" connections. He is also in his forties, and has served on the City Council as a Republican for two years.

In the 1969 election, when the Democratic party split in two places, Garafalo was one of the people who ran for City Council as an independent, an independent slate which seemed to seal the defeat of the Democratic party. That slate was developed to be a response to politics as usual, but its case that year was better made by dissident Democrats, who had earlier in the year primaried as strict liberals against the party-endorsed slate. Consequently, the slate Garafalo ran on headed by then-City Treasurer Theodore Kowaleski, ran rather poorly in the general election, picking up only around 1700 votes, running behind the Democratic slate, with 4800 votes, and the Republican winners, with 6500 votes.

Garafalo, whose family owns Cross Street Market, then became active in Republican party affairs, and gained a nomination to the Council two years ago. His two years in office have been generally quiet ones, and only recently has he come forward to move into any public role as a Republican party leader. He has been sitting on some important commissions in town, and should have information available to him first-hand, especially about redevelopment in town, if elected. Neither of the other two candidates has been recently in that immediate position.

Garafalo has recently stepped up his campaign for office. He led a successful Republican challenge of a primarily-Democratic plan to put twin hockey rinks downtown, and had one of the rinks cut out of the plan, and he recently countered a city plan to convert the old Middletown High School building below Downey House to an upper- and upper-middle class apartment building with a previously rejected plan to use the structure as office space and a sort-of youth center.

He has been quite conservative fiscally during his stay on the Council, and earlier this year opposed the state's City and Town Development Act, which did not pass, which would have allowed the city to act essentially as a private developer in developing new lands in economically blighted areas. His opinion was in standard opposition, as regards the act's insufficient safeguard against a City Council committing funds to development without first gaining the approval by referendum of the city's people.

This year's campaign has not been very lively. Tony Marino is favored to win, especially if the "machine-taint" argument is overcome. That's his big problem, and it is a significant one. Even with the house in order, old wounds are slow to heal.



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# Giving Work Its Due

**Working**, by Studs Terkel, Avon Books, 1972, 762 pages.

By Maury Israel

The subjective worlds that different working conditions produce is not an issue in contemporary America. Work as such is seldom treated in art or in the media. Partly to blame is the *Time* magazine syndrome (by which I mean more than merely *Time*) that ogles at each week's eye-poppers while considering too abstruse any matters whose importance might trespass beyond that official seven-day limit. I grant that Patty Hearst and Squeaky Fromme are, after all, not without the merit of being titillating. But there is still something alarming in a situation that relegates eight hours a day to the role of undisturbed landscape. Too

not on a microscope slide, but on the level at which it is lived. The book is no voice-over documentary. Proceeding from interviews, Terkel writes in the first person. Each person tells his or her very real and personal story.

**Working** is vast, and no one dimension of work is allowed imperial sway over the others. Some people in **Working** are scathingly cynical about what they do, others are proud. Some are happy, but more sound tired and defeated, their creativity and energy eaten away by the demands of a system in which they are tools of another's profit. The people in **Working** tend not to rationalize their occupations or set up psychological defense mechanisms; it is a very

but a state of activity. And to be economically compensated, it suffices that one be hired by someone who has the capital to hire people and prescribe the tasks they are to perform. **Working** also reveals the pronounced functional aspect of the worker's existence. It is true that there should be consonance between work and the full human being. That this is seldom the case makes the routine identification of human being and occupation a disconcerting one.

**Working** points to a redefinition of health - one that goes beyond physiological and even psychological factors to encompass matters less tangible yet of decisive importance. A man in a factory cuts his arm. He receives medical attention. A man in a factory feels that the machines are treated better than he is. They say that's just the way it is, and you should be grateful to have a job.

It would be petty to contend that **Working** is not a political book. It is true that Terkel does not impose standard political terms and categories, and there is no appendix on "what should be done." Yet Terkel makes all this seem secondary. If the point of political change is to benefit living, individual human beings, then one had best begin with their untampered testimony. In fact, it is remarkable that this book, containing as it does raw data for a powerful indictment of capitalism, has achieved such popular success in America.

Terkel's achievement is a monumental one. **Working** deserves highly to be read - for its insights into the hows and whys of different occupations, for its wealth of sociological cud, perhaps mostly for its human pathos. It reminds one of what Camus said towards the end of *La Peste*: "There are in man more things to admire than to detest." Because it blends anger, frustration, edification, and hope, **Working** remains faithful to the grain of life itself.

The Wesleyan Indochina Information Committee (WIIC), an antiwar group which disbanded last spring with the victory of revolutionary governments in Indochina, is being temporarily resurrected to deal with questions of humanitarian aid. WIIC will meet briefly tonight at 7 on the third floor of 190 High Street. The meeting will focus on the American Friends Service Committee's "Act for Friendship" Project which will violate the Treasury Department's "Trading with the Enemy Act" (see October 16 *Hermes* for more information about this). Also discussed will be fund raising and aid for reconstruction in Vietnam.

Millions are starving at this moment. Should we care? Can we do anything to help? We must face these important questions. To try to find answers, the Wesleyan Food Project is sponsoring an interdisciplinary discussion on this critical topic. We are inviting the faculty from all departments to participate with students in an informal discussions on what the U.S. and we, its citizens, should do to fight world hunger. We especially welcome students and professors who have had first-hand experience in Third World countries or in China, a country which supposedly has conquered its food problem. In addition, we expect attendance from members of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, where hybrid corn was developed, and professors from the University of Connecticut.

The discussion will be accompanied by a vegetarian dinner. We will ask for a small donation from students to cover the cost of the meal and to raise funds for an international development organization such as Oxfam. The discussion and dinner will be at the East College dining hall on Friday, November 7 from 6:00 - 8:00 P.M. Students and professors interested in attending should contact us by Oct. 31 so that seating and dinner arrangements can be made. Jeffrey Weinstein, Wesleyan Food Project, Box 1009, 346-9897.



often, work is considered merely that which provides the means to do things that themselves monopolize attention. Do people talk about their work on vacations or about vacation once they return to work?

Studs Terkel's **Working** is an eloquent portrayal of work people do and what they think about it. Taxi driver, gravedigger, stockbroker, baseball player, gas meter reader, hooker, garbageman, copy boy, stewardess, janitor, doorman, truck driver, model, advertiser, etc.; few are omitted. **Working** could be called, without exaggeration, an insider's guide to the United States. **Working** is to unemployment office literature as *The Underground Guide to the Colleges* is to Barron's.

**Working** has no explicit conclusions; it displays. Work is viewed

honest book. It also reveals the hierarchical structure of many work situations. An ordering of functions is one thing, but a hierarchy of — dignity?

From the testimony of this book we learn how the very definition of "activity" or "doing something" becomes a function of that which is economically rewarding. It is not that people "do something" and are then economically rewarded. Rather, we say that they are doing something because they are being economically rewarded for it. Economic compensation, and not the social and personal value of the work, becomes the primary index for how we define activity. (These different criteria may intertwine, but they do not necessarily do so.) "Being unemployed," for example, is not just a state of income

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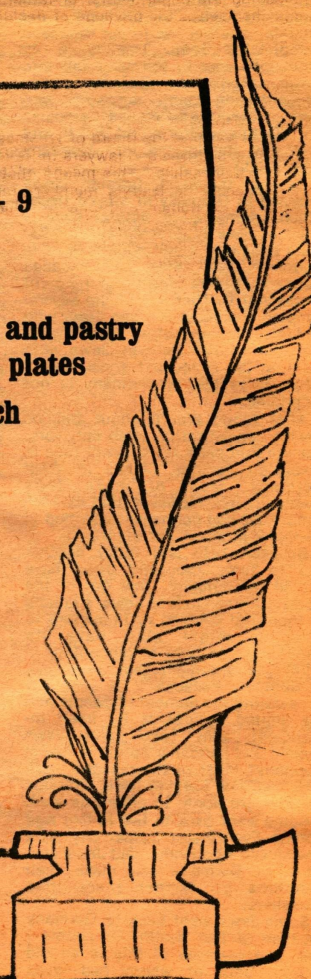
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# The Jewish Community in Germany Today

**Editor's note: This is the first in a two-part series on Jews in Germany. It was originally delivered, in slightly altered form, as a talk at Temple Sinai, Roslyn, N.Y. on October 10, 1975.**

by Douglas Morris

This summer I went to Germany to work on my thesis. A subject tangential to my thesis work is the Jewish community in Germany. I will deal with these issues. Why do Jews live in Germany today? How do Jews who live in Germany feel about living there? What is the state of the Jewish community in Germany? What is the future of the Jewish community in Germany? Finally, what kind of Jewish community exists in East Germany?

Why do Jews live in Germany today? After World War II most people assumed that an organized Jewish community would not continue to exist in Germany. An analogy with Spain was obvious. After Spain drove its Jews into exile in the late 1400's Jews did not return until centuries later. Furthermore, after World War II many people feared for the safety of Jews who would live in Germany. But today it is clear that there is no longer justification for such a fear. To ask today why Jews live in Germany has overtones of accusation. Almost as if saying, Jews who live in Germany are morally at fault for living there. I think this question should be asked not to accuse, but to lead to better understanding.

A look at the size and composition of the Jewish community in Germany might suggest that from a point of view of probability it would have been a lot more surprising if there were no Jews in Germany today. With enough people and a limited number of options there are bound to be people who will choose any particular option.

There are probably between 30 and 40 thousand Jews in Germany. Unlike the U.S., there is no sharp separation between church and state in Germany. The state supports religious congregations. Thus, members of religious groups register for tax purposes. There are about 27,000 registered Jews in Germany, and probably another five to ten thousand unregistered Jews. The 30 or 40 thousand Jews in Germany fall into three categories: German Jews, concentration camp survivors who were in Displaced Persons Camps in West Germany after World War II, and Jews who immigrated into Germany after World War II.

Several thousand German Jews returned to Germany or stayed there, which seems quite natural from a point of view of probability. In 1933 there were over a half million Jews in Germany. Well over half escaped Germany before the beginning of World War II. That out of the several hundred thousand German Jews who had left Germany before World War II and the 15,000 German Jews who survived the Holocaust some should return to or stay in Germany is not surprising.

After World War II about 200,000 Jewish concentration camp survivors, Eastern European Jews, spent time in Displaced Persons Camps in West Germany. Most of these Jews eventually left. However, that by 1960 about 6000 had permanently settled in Germany is again not surprising.

Between 1945 and today another two to three thousand Jews have settled in Germany. That out of the world's thirteen million Jews, a couple of thousand decided to immigrate to Germany might also have its justification in light of probability.

Yet the argument that Jews live in Germany because it is probable considering the number of people and the limited options is by itself insufficient. Why have some Jews chosen this particular option to live in Germany? Most of the reasons I can offer deal with German Jews, although some might apply to others as well.

Some went back to live in Old Age Homes. Every major German city has a Jewish Old Age Home. Old Jews who retire in Germany can make their pensions go farther there than elsewhere.

Some Jews went back to Germany because of bad health. Of people I met, one example of this is an old couple, both of whom had weak hearts. They had to leave Ecuador for Germany because the air in Ecuador

was too thin. Another example is a former concentration camp inmate who could not tolerate the humidity in New York without suffering strokes.

For some German Jews, since German was the only language they could speak well they came back to Germany. One rather unique example of this which I heard about was that of an old man whom the Nazis had blinded. This man had lived in America for many years. But as he became older he started to go deaf. Since he found it harder and harder to understand English, but had less difficulty with his mother tongue of German, he went back to Germany.

Some Jews went back to Germany because Germany's economic prosperity offered them opportunities which they did not have elsewhere. A major problem in the Jewish community in Germany today is that too many of its members are overly materialistic. But some Jews who returned for economic reasons did not do so purely out of selfishness. In forcing many Jews out of Germany the Nazis deprived such Jews of many opportunities which these Jews could not find in a foreign country. After twenty wasted years some Jews might have found opportunities which they should never have been deprived of in the first place only in post-war Germany. For example, a young lawyer who had fled Nazism and was forced to sell old books for twenty years in a foreign country to survive might only be able in post-war Germany to fulfill his dream of becoming a lawyer.



Some Jews thought that they had a moral obligation to go back to Germany. Only Jews were really qualified to make sure that Nazism did not spring up in Germany again. Also, Jews in Germany would remind Germans of Nazi crimes. And Germany's response to and treatment of its post-war Jews would be a measure of Germany's moral reformation, or lack of it. I suspect that the attitude which these Jews had towards their role as Jews in post-war Germany is a development of the Christian idea of Jews being a moral witness.

There were also those Jews who never left Germany. At the end of the war some German Jews simply went back home, the most natural thing in the world for them to do. Other German Jews stayed in Germany because they felt German. Germany was not the same as Nazism. These German Jews loved their homeland and its culture, despite one horrible development of it. Other Jews stayed in Germany to search for lost relatives, and many stayed to care for sick relatives who had survived the Holocaust. Others stayed because they did not want to go to Israel. After

what they had lived through they were not ready to risk their lives again, even for Israel. Yet others did want to emigrate, but could not, some times being discriminated against because they were German. I met two men who were unable to emigrate because they had had TB. The U.S. considered them sick and its immigration laws forbid their entry.

Many Eastern European Jews who had been in Displaced Persons Camps stayed because they had built up good businesses out of their black market activities. Other Eastern European Jews stayed because they were tired of being refugees. They had moved around from place to place too much already and wanted to settle down — wherever they were.

I mentioned before that the question of why Jews live in Germany could have overtones of accusation. But the question also has overtones of disbelief. Germany carried out the Holocaust, one of the greatest horrors in all Jewish history. Many Jews would never set foot on the soil of such a country. How could Jews live there? If some do, how do they feel about living in a land with such a past?

I met some Jews who were uncomfortable and distressed that they were living in Germany. But whether these people represent a significant proportion of the Jewish community in Germany is hard to say. I got the feeling that Nazism had so ruined these people's lives that they would be uncomfortable and distressed wherever they lived. Other Jews whom I spoke to discounted the problem of a psychological burden. Jews don't feel uncomfortable or distressed simply because they are living in the former Nazi Germany. But perhaps these people were insensitive to a quiet, festering problem which they would rather ignore.

There is little doubt that for many Jews in Germany the psychological problem of living in Germany simply does not exist. Many returned to Germany reluctantly. They got used to the idea of living there and realized that it made no sense to ruin their lives by all the time mulling over the fact that they lived in Germany. For others, although their personal past might be full of misery, which the Nazis caused, that misery would be just as acute wherever the person lived. The person does not associate his past with place as much as with experience. The person is not so much in constant awareness that misery occurred on this soil, as that certain individuals caused his family, friends, and himself to suffer such misery.

If a person's own past has a stronger influence on him than the history of the country in which he lives, then it would follow that it would be easier for some Jews to live in Germany than elsewhere. Many former displaced persons who live in Germany suffered under Nazi terror not in Germany, but in Eastern Europe. For such eastern European Jews a life in Germany is a break from their past. They are not exposed constantly to their former homes and to the pain now associated with their former homes and past. In fact, in 1945 many Jews left Displaced Persons Camps in West Germany and went back to their former homes in the East. But painful memories forced them back again to Germany. Munich is another example. Munich, which was the birthplace of Nazism and one of the most anti-Semitic parts of Germany, has one of the biggest Jewish populations in Germany, but the Jewish population there is 80% Polish Jews. Most of the few German Jews there were not originally from Munich anyway. There is a single German Jewish concentration camp survivor who lives in Munich today. Thus, for most Jews in Munich today, Munich does not remind them of their personal suffering under Nazism.

Despite what many Jews went through in Germany, some remember that while they were suffering people did do good for them to ease their

suffering and save their lives. Gentiles had helped them to survive the war through hiding them, giving them food and clothing, and acting kindly and humanely in other ways. These good memories from the past might make it easier for such Jews to live in Germany. And many German Jews survived the war because they were married to Gentiles. After the war they still had relatives — Gentiles to be sure — in Germany.

Most people do not constantly think about the past, for thought of the present dominates that of the past. Jews in Germany today do not live in Nazi Germany and many of them realize that most Germans living today were born after the war and do not share responsibility for Nazism.

Some Jews in Germany when they do think about Germany and its history do not think about them in isolation. They realize that other countries such as England, Swit-



zerland, and especially the U.S. share much guilt for Nazi crimes, because they prevented Jews from entering their countries, trapping more and more Jews in Nazi Germany and Nazi Europe.

And one final remark on how Jews feel about living in Germany, the former Nazi Germany. "Are not ten just men sufficient?"

If most Jews in Germany do not live under a psychological burden due to Germany's past, the logical question to ask is whether Germany today has aspects which would oppress its Jewish citizens, namely, is there anti-Semitism? Most Jews whom I spoke to said that there was anti-Semitism, but not very much. There are former Nazis who have never really changed their views. Any particular Jew in Germany might have one or two stories of an anti-Semitic incident in the last thirty years. One old lady whom I spoke to had sat down on a park bench once and the lady next to her said that it was too bad that Hitler did not kill all the Jews. Or one student's teacher once told the unruly class to be quiet, asking if this were a Jewish school. But these are isolated incidents, examples of some Germans who never give up old prejudices. They are remnants of Nazism, not indications that Nazism is gaining new strength. Other Jews I spoke to said that there is anti-Semitism in Germany, just as there is anti-Semitism anywhere. They usually added that it's probably worse in America. One Jew told me that after several years as a public Jewish official in Germany he has not received one anti-Semitic note or phone-call.

I might add that I personally came across no anti-Semitism. On the contrary. When I asked directions for a synagogue or Jewish Old Age Home people were more than helpful. In Heidelberg a butcher ran up and down a street with me trying to help me find the Jewish prayer room.

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